

the respective mothers-in-law may refer to each other as *ñi-583*
ñandemo, which signifies "women united through the payment
of a bride price."

The Araucanian custom of "mock rape" or abduction has for
years aroused the interest of social scientists. No single ex-
planation can possibly cover all the variations of the practice,
which has differed at various stages of Mapuche history and
which fluctuates with a man's wealth and previous marital
experience. For example, marriage by abduction is customarily
the rule only for the first of a man's wives, and today the in-
stitution is kept alive primarily by rich men of high prestige. [554 •
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Other marriages center about an exchange of gifts, and natives
point out that neither party expects to gain very much in these
transactions. Any profit will probably be spent in mutual en-
tertainment.

In times past abduction seems to have taken place in at
least three different contexts. When they were fighting intra-
tribal wars, Araucanian men sometimes raided enemy settle-
ments and literally carried away women whose resistance was [727]
anything but simulated. In other cases men abducted brides
without prearrangement, but later made adequate payment;
and in many instances the entire affair was worked out in ad-
vance, and resistance was purely formal.

After reviewing all the pertinent data, it may be concluded
that out and out abduction of women was a rare phenomenon
that was occasionally brought about by a combination of exog-
amy and a continuous state of internal warfare. Much more
commonly, abduction and its concomitant resistance seem to
imply only a highly dramatic form of "ceremonial coyness."
As I have elsewhere written: "'Ceremonial coyness' is best ex-
plained by the reluctance one feels at leaving a familiar home to
take up residence in a strange one, especially if one's new family
is to be merged with that of the parents-in-law."² The applica-
bility of this interpretation to the Araucanians has been indi-
cated in an analysis of social singing wherein it was pointed out:

² Titiev, 1943, p. 317, footnote 30.

177 other men. Many people deplore such a state of affairs, but
733 even some of the more realistic missionaries who are struggling
to introduce temperance admit that drunkenness provides a
measure of escape for men whose lives are drab and unre-
warding.

177 Much of the sense of futility arises from one of the most far-
reaching of all aspects of culture change, the loss of one scheme
of values and the slowness or failure to develop a new one.

● [554] Under the former social system a man had numerous oppor-
tunities to gain prestige and esteem by excelling in battle or
by showing great skill at hockey and other strenuous exercises.
If he had the resourcefulness and initiative to acquire several
wives, he usually begot numerous offspring and had enough
females in his household to raise his food, cater to his comfort,
and show the deference due to the head of a family. Should he,
in addition, exhibit a forceful character and a vigorous manner
of speech, he might become a *werken*; and if he combined these
qualities with the paternity of many sons he had a fair chance
of becoming a *loñko*. At present the old incentives and rewards
for masculine ambition are gone, and no new mechanisms for
achieving and exhibiting high status have been devised to take
their place. No honors are to be won by diligent farming, and to
be thrifty and to make or save money likewise arouses little
interest, except among those who are willing to imitate and
compete with Chileans.

Equally effective in lowering Araucanian morale has been the
transition from occupancy of more than ample territory with
abundant natural resources to confinement on strictly limited
reservation lands the potentials of which are steadily decreas-
ing. There was a time when, in the event of internal tension, an
enterprising man could strike out into a virgin area and found
a new settlement. Today, this sort of "safety valve" is no longer
available. Men who hold titles in severalty gain a small measure
of independence and autonomy, but they are tied down for life.
When they become extremely unhappy in their relations with
housemates or neighbors, they have only two means of escape.
They may wander away to Argentina, or they may look for jobs

Nonpolitical social grouping.—The modern *Mapuche-Huilliche* are divided into three loosely separated classes: the wealthy, the unattached-commoners, and the poorer people working as peons on estates. Earlier, too, there was a similar loose triple division into: wealthy and caciques, commoners, and "slaves" and captives. 565

Personal rank and prestige was derived chiefly from martial prowess and from wealth; generous hospitality, and eloquence in speech were other well-recognized avenues to status. 554

There were no secret or other societies, and no formal organization of age classes. There is no tangible evidence of moieties; the term *llaocahuin*, "la mitad de una regua," given by Luis de Valdivia (1887, s.v.) in his vocabulary, hardly constitutes such evidence, problematic though the meaning of the term be. There existed a type of "blood-brotherhood" (*koncho*), entered into by two men with a ceremonial giving and/or killing of a lamb or other animal (Félix José, 1916, 1:93, s.v. *koncho*; Moeschbach, 1936, pp. 389-91). Other kinds of "brotherhood" were entered into between two men, two women, or a man and woman by drinking or eating together or by exchanging presents, and between two families or tribes by the more solemn ritual killing of a lamb and eating it together and by offering prayers. (Houssé, 1939, p. 208-10; cf. Guevara Silva, 1908, p. 66; Havestadt, 1883, 2:991; Smith, 1833, pp. 260-62.) 575 561 616 608

ECONOMIC LIFE

Ownership.—Our earliest specific, albeit meager, information on land tenure is from the second half of the 18th century (Molina, 1901, pp. 122, 149; Gómez de Vidaurre, 1889, 14:341); later writers have added a little but not much. (Smith, 1833, pp. 240-41; Ruiz Alda, 1902, pp. 15, 30; Guevara Silva, 1904, pp. 38-39; Bullock, 1911, p. 3; Letcham, 1922 b, pp. 412-13; Moeschbach, 1936, p. 193; McBride, 1936, pp. 308-09.) If we piece together the scanty and incomplete data available, the following outlines emerge, though none too clearly: Each family or close-kinship group claimed a given territory which had been passed on to it from its ancestors, this territory being held jointly or communally by the family or group. Land not under actual cultivation or lying temporarily fallow was communally held. Each individual—or family—had exclusive rights of use to the land claimed as fallow or under cultivation by him, and to its products, and could transmit such land to his heir or heirs. According to Smith (1833, p. 241), only the headmen could dispose by sale or otherwise of clan land to Indians who were not members of the community, but all selling of land to Whites was a capital crime. Each wife in polygynous households received her own garden plot from the husband (Ruiz Alda, 1902, p. 30; cf. Moeschbach, 1936, p. 193), and kept separately the products thereof; in addition, she owned her own chickens 421

551 look at me." She was offended at this. A girl named Rosa was nicknamed *Mas Cos* by schoolmates because of a story in a reader entitled "*La Rosa Mas Cos*"; at home she was called *Suspirado de Laureles* (sighing of the laurels). Children answer to nicknames.

Adults, too, have nicknames. A man was called *Piarro* because he was a diminutive person; another was called *Miser* because he was caught digging for something unknown to the owner. A woman was called *The Dancer* because she was born while her mother was dancing. Children are thought to be disrespectful when using nicknames of adults when speaking of them. Quoting a teacher: "Recently a child came to me, angry and hurt, and said, 'He talked about my father and used a bad name.' 'No, no, he wouldn't do that,' I replied. 'Yes, he did. He called him *Turco*' (native of Turkey, his father's nickname; probably an implication of being non-Araucanian)."

Elders often call a girl by the diminutive of either her Araucanian or her Christian name as an expression of affection.

THE FAMILY

STATUS IN THE COMMUNITY

554 In the early days there were both polygynous and monogamous
[915] households. Today, with few exceptions, families are monogamous.
(Pls. 20; 21, 1; 22, 1.)

553 The family of a cacique and those of his sons and daughters were—
622 and still are—expected to be exemplary ones. Each member is ex-
554 pected to have stamina, self-respect, and courage, and to be helpful
and law-abiding. Informants made it a point to say of another that
he or she was the son or daughter of a cacique; if the person deserved
praise, it was given with satisfaction; if his conduct was not in
conformity with the approved pattern, it was mentioned with regret
and censure. All families, however, whose members live according to
customary social standards and whose economic status is adequate
have about them an air of independence and self-respect and are
respected by others.

556 Wealth is measured in ownership of property which must include a
913 roca, land, man, cattle, and sheep. In general, a family owns enough
land and animals to supply its needs. No one was found, during the
present study, to own an excessive amount of anything—to do so
may arouse jealousy. Jealousy is regarded, it is believed, with dis-
favor, brought about through black art. "Any man here [Colchipe]
is rich if he has 30 to 40 sheep and more land than he needs for

pasturing them and for raising produce to feed his family well. The average family has 30 to 40 sheep and enough land to raise food so the family is well fed all the year around." In Alerce area, one of the wealthiest families owned 120 acres of land, some of which was still forested. The father had selected the forested land and knew his family would be given title to it as soon as he had cleared it of trees. 593
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Every person has the right to own land in the area in which his father lived; in that area, too, he has the right to claim wooded land if he proceeds to clear it of trees—an indication that he intends to cultivate it. A man who moves to another area has difficulty in acquiring land there. If he can get no land, he has no pasture and therefore can own no cattle or sheep. Such a man's family obviously, then, is poor; it has no status in the area—in fact it is only tolerated there. Neighbors will give food to the family whenever it is requested that it is nearly destitute, but it is always hoped by those who help that the man will take his family to the area where his relatives live. One such family lived in Alerce area and one in Colligué area. The Alerce family lived in the neighborhood of distant relatives, who, in order to relieve themselves of feeding the family, gave it land for a garden and several cows and sheep. The animals were grazed by extensive deer's pasture. The father was able to buy wheat and an occasional piece of clothing by selling in non-Araucanian villages fish that he caught in the Pacific. When unfavorable weather prevented him from fishing, kind persons in the area gave the family assistance. The father of the Colligué family worked for cash anywhere in the area where he could find work; his wife supplemented his earnings by selling basketry she wove. 594
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A family exhibited status, if all male members, including small boys, were hunters, and if any or all members were shepherds. Hats and shoes indicated to others that the family had money just beyond those needed for the necessities of life.

Families definitely not held in esteem were those in which one parent was non-Araucanian, in which there was continuous quarreling, and in which a member was a thief. [76]

HUSBAND-WIFE RELATIONSHIP, FATHER-CHILD RELATIONSHIP, BROTHER-SISTER RELATIONSHIP

My observations have led me to believe that pleasure, affection, confidence, and helpfulness are reciprocated by husband and wife. However, the man dominates the family. His decisions are made as the 595
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He was of psychotic mind in Panguipulli area while I was there. There was a mildly psychotic woman in Alerce area—a woman with a hyperactive thyroid. "Everybody knows she is queer," remarked the informant. She was the only psychotic person that had come to the attention of a non-Arruacian biologist, or of whom she had heard it said that he was psychotic, in her 20 years in the area.

The only psychotic person in Calbuco area was a middle-aged man. He lived in a cabin close to his aged father's. During an interview with the old man, the psychotic man was exceedingly belligerent in his own role. "He is working," said the father, "but it makes no sense. For some time past now, he stays in his cabin and does not want to leave it. Formerly, he walked around on the camp. He used to go to the kitchen to talk nonsense to the ladies. They fed him, they gave him something to eat, and then brought him home. We bring him food, but for some days now he has refused to eat." The old man had no plan for caring for him beyond keeping him in his cabin and guarding him in case he became dangerous.

In Balsa area there were four psychotic persons, two women and two men. Quoting a non-Arruacian biologist: "I have seen all four persons. One may know him and wonder about until he is brought back home. The other will not wear any clothing; he lies naked in his bed as the other wrapped with a blanket. When disturbed, he rises sharply and spins himself on his feet so rapidly that he comes out to touch the ground. I saw him do this. One of the women talks incessantly and hysterically; the other sits in sedulously fashion and never speaks."

MARRIAGE

POLYGAMY, MARRIAGE

Until recent years polygamous marriages were customary. In Copiapo married men who had as many as six wives, but the prevailing custom was two. A man usually married as many women as he knew he could support and for whom he had the bride price. Occasionally a man succeeded in getting an additional wife without paying the bride price. Polygamists were usually cowboys, the sons of cowboys, the wealthy, and other men of means. A man was known to have married a second wife because his first wife was too old or too lazy to do the necessary work. A man also married occasionally when other men were killed to bear his children; he believed that each of the women was sterile. According to Cooper's account wealthy or other prominent men had as many as 4 to 20 wives; an occasional one had 24, 25, or even 30. Some men, either from choice or because they were

- 551 Argentine army. "Every man was given a Christian name then, and the officers made him use his Araucanian name as a second name." A child was given the father's "second" name (Araucanian given name) as its surname when its birth was recorded. All adult men were very recently required by Argentine law to obtain from public officials a *Libreta Enrolamiento*; adult women, a *Libreta Cívica* (cf. p. 352), that is, a permit to vote at federal elections. Anyone who did not have a surname when applying for the permit was given his father's Araucanian name by the government officials issuing the voting permits. (Cf. List of Informants for present-day names.)

Children were not nicknamed; adults were. Anyone could nickname another. A nickname pointed out an unenviable quality possessed by the bearer, and was used only "when we were speaking among ourselves; not everyone knew everybody else's nickname." Examples of nicknames of men, friends of an informant, were: Black Hide, Liar, Black Belly, Bewildered Head, Wild Horse (he who was running to other women), Poncho of Tin (a lazy man). Women, too, were nicknamed. "There were always senseless women. If a woman was a prostitute, she was given a name because she was that way."

THE FAMILY

STATUS IN THE COMMUNITY

- 554 In general, the family that conformed to established law and order, followed the accepted pattern of behavior, and maintained its economic independence was respected. Families thought of as quite below the accepted norm were those in which one parent was non-Araucanian, or in which a parent habitually drank to intoxication, or in which there was an unmarried mother.

HUSBAND-WIFE RELATIONSHIP, PARENT-CHILD RELATIONSHIP, BROTHER-SISTER RELATIONSHIP

- 543 The man dominated the family, but his wife and children had a status of importance and individuality within the family. If there was no resistance to the man's expressed authority, the household was usually a well-ordered and peaceful one. "Formerly families were like one; they wanted no disorder; everyone had to do his duty."
- 545 In general husband and wife lived together in peace and contentment. In cases of polygynous marriages, the wife first married—usually also the oldest one in years—gave orders to the others. She was exempted from such work as cooking and washing; the other

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[43] amount to a bushel of grain, which is considered sufficient return for the extra work. Had the field been hand-harvested, such loss would have been much reduced.

Hand harvesting is done with sickles. The sheaves are either tied and stacked at intervals or forked into stacks. After the field is cut, the stacks are loaded into ox carts and either brought home for flailing or animal threshing, or taken to a threshing machine temporarily set up in the vicinity. Some of these manual operations are performed by every Mapuche farmer, even though part of the work may be done by machine. Crops which ripen early or late are often harvested by hand, because the machinery may not be available. Late crops, too, are generally those raised in the poorest, smallest, and most inaccessible fields that have no roads for the passage of large machines. In general, small harvests are reaped by hand and often by an individual family without assistance from neighbors. In the wheat belt of the Central Valley, oats, linseed, and barley are usually harvested in relatively small amounts, representing less than a fifth or sixth of the amount of wheat harvested. *Chacarera* in this zone is generally confined to small plots adjacent to the house, and is hand-harvested — most often by women, who also do the cultivating. In the coastal zone, however, peas and beans are substantial field crops and are often harvested by machine. If the harvest is small, though, they may also be flailed or animal-threshed.

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[24] It is difficult to estimate the relative importance of cattle and sheep in the Mapuche system of values. Both are highly esteemed, as much for the prestige involved in owning large herds as for actual commercial value and meat for home consumption. Considering the former aspect, ownership of cattle is perhaps more prestigious, while owning many sheep assures a marketable product, produced with little care, and a more convenient source of meat for the household.

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232 Sheep are eaten in quantity, but are also highly prized for their wool, which is both sold and used at home for the manufacture of clothing. They are shorn in the spring when their wool is long. At shearing, sheep are dipped in a commercial disinfectant or in a traditional product generally concocted from *canelo* water and other ingredients. The apparatus used for dipping is often no more than a hollow log. Mange is treated with salve and a commercial dip in some cases, but it is quite common for a mixture of *canelo* water and putrid human urine to be applied to the affected parts of the animal.

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241 Oxen are in a class by themselves. They are the only draft animals

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

THE AGRARIAN SETTING

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in general use and are treated with considerable affection by the Mapuche. After oxen have grown too old for heavy work they are sold for slaughter rather than killed and eaten by their owners. In at least one part of Araucanía (near Liquine in the Andes) oxen are used as sacrificial animals in the *ñillatun* fertility ceremony. 231
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Pigs vie with sheep as the favorite meat, but they are eaten in greater quantity because they are valued only as food. Chickens are also a major source of meat on the reservation. Eggs are important both as food and as a marketable product, and the best layers are not eaten or sold. 262

Horses, once owned in much greater numbers by the Mapuche, are certainly prestige animals. They used to be eaten regularly, before cattle and sheep became numerous, but today are generally consumed only at religious ceremonies and funeral rites. They are disappearing rapidly from regions serviced by other forms of transportation, because they are expensive to keep. Horses are generally pampered, reared with great affection, and clipped and brushed frequently. They are decked out in silver trimmings on all auspicious occasions, and are essential to the "huaso pattern" which the younger Mapuche affect. They are an integral part of the *ñillatun* ritual, which is said to be *pesado* if there are no horses for ceremonial purposes. 231
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If the winter is severe, as it was in 1953, many animals die of exposure and starvation. As a rule animals are left to range in the fallow fields and natural meadows. Inadequate pasturage or cut fodder for the entire year results in most animals being thin and disease-prone. Veterinarian techniques practiced by the Mapuche seem generally effective as far as they go, but they are usually simple and not infrequently mixed with supernatural remedies. In very bad weather animals will often be taken into the family shelter, and it is particularly common for newborn lambs to be treated in this way. 233
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In general, the reservations are overgrazed and overcropped. In terms of Mapuche technology, the population has tended to expand to the limits of the natural resources, which are largely defined by reservation restrictions. Whereas the Chileans complain of being surrounded by a "ring of iron," when they refer to reservation land they desire for their own use, the Mapuche feel thwarted by the reservation acts which have confined them to small, fixed holdings. Since the reservations are not productive enough to support the increasing population, there is a constant emigration of Mapuche men and women to the cities and farms of Chile and Argentina. 311
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lineage segments when associated with agricultural labor, but include larger groups when land clearing or draining, housebuilding, road repair, and so forth are involved. Although the chief's role in organizing *mingaco* may be minimal, it is highly symbolic of the fact that *mingaco* expresses the feeling of solidarity among coresidents.

The people look to the chief for support or sponsorship, rather than actual organization. The chief is approached by several of the household heads and the matter of clearing brush from the road or widening the road or filling in ruts is discussed. The chief is pressed to lend his support, to organize the venture, and to make some contribution such as a cow or several sheep to be eaten after the work is done. If the chief is wealthy and especially conscious of increasing or maintaining his political authority he will sometimes suggest that the workers repair to his house for a feast when the task is completed. In any case the chief's willingness to sponsor communal work, even though this may not involve a contribution of food on his part, enhances his prestige and serves to reinforce the bonds of relationship which exist among the members of the community.

Much more common than reservation-wide communal work is that engaged in by several families, patrilineally related, whose male heads are members of a sublineage. The kind of labor performed by these multifamily work parties differs somewhat from that done by large *mingaco* groups, and the scale of the operation is generally smaller. Agricultural labors are usually limited to planting and harvesting, the threshing being done by rented machinery.

If several families combine their efforts in nonagricultural activity, such as housebuilding or clearing fields of trees, the work is generally protracted over several days or even longer, which suggests an organization different from *mingaco*. However, when the protracted task is completed, it might also be celebrated by a festive meal and drinking bout. For example, several families occupying adjacent parcels of land might cooperate to construct a log fence. Their relatively small labor force might not be able to kill, cut, and haul the trees into place in less than several months, working a day or so at a time during slack periods. The final assemblage of logs and the completion of the fence, then, might be celebrated in the manner indicated. As mentioned above, much of the preparatory work of house construction is generally done before the large *rukan* or housebuilding *mingaco* is held to celebrate its erection. Preparations of the thatch, cutting and shaping the poles, making the rope lashings with which the joints

he may sell his land for a lump sum, and is generally indifferent to whatever effects his renting the land to a Chilean might have on the reservation community. It could mean that the Chilean renter might obtain *ocupante* status and receive a parcel of reservation land when and if the land is divided into severalty holdings. In effect, this deprives Mapuche residents of a share of land that would have been apportioned among them. A situation of this sort occurred on reservation Nahuelpan at the time of *división* in 1949 and a similar case has already transpired on Llanccaman, which continues to have full reservation status. Many examples of this sort are contained in the archives of the Ministry of Lands and Colonization.

In many cases, renting land to a Chilean amounts to a complete surrender of one's cultural integrity and agrarian status. For this reason it occurs most frequently with Mapuche who have already left the reservation. It is not a favored solution for increasing income among reservation Indians both because of this "surrender" and because of the real danger of the eventual loss of all or part of one's land. [156]

Tenant Farming

The practice of admitting Chileans to the reservations as tenant farmers or *inquilinos* also has its risks but, perhaps owing to Chilean conceptions of landlord and tenant relationships, the Mapuche "landlord" is usually regarded as having the higher status, the upper hand. As with rental arrangements, tenant and landlord legalize their transaction on a one-year contract basis before the *Juez de Indios*. [427, 448, 554, 692]

The tenant differs from the renter, usually, in that he is a poor peasant who operates his single holding. A renter tends to have land in several places, and perhaps is a *fundo* owner himself. It is clear that renters usually are relatively high-status Chileans who often carry political weight in respect, at least, to the Mapuche with whom they are dealing. The tenant's dependent position in the theoretical framework of landlord-tenant relationships operates to the Mapuche landholder's advantage if he should have to resort to legal action to remove his tenant from the land. [691]

Mapuche "landlords" fall roughly into two economic categories: those who are relatively well-to-do and those who are not. The well-to-do landlord might admit a tenant for the prestige it will give him in the community. He surely expects to profit from the labor of the tenant, who works a specified part of the landlord's fields for a percentage of the harvest. The tenant frequently provides plowing [427, 556]

11: Faron E-5 (1952-1954) 1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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MAPUCHE SOCIAL STRUCTURE

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[861] beliefs of her husband and by extension those of the larger society. The success with which parents raise their children is judged largely by traditional standards; and to the extent to which they are achieved, the bond between husband and wife draws tighter. It is a minor
• [554] prestige-gaining mechanism. The wife attains community respect as she attains position within her household. The pride of a father in his children shows also the feelings for his spouse. A wife basks in this appreciation, cementing the husband-wife relationship.

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851 When a child is born, new sets of relationships develop within the family as well as between the parents and the wider social group now standing in cognatic relationship to the infant. These modifications are especially noticeable in the case of a first child. It is not surprising that the birth of a first child is surrounded with a great deal more attention than that of successive children, although it is not implied that considerations of cognatic relationships are primarily responsible for this. However, the father's role at the birth of the first child differs considerably from that of later offspring, although there is a consistent attitude of joyful expectance, pride, and general satisfaction throughout. A difference is manifest in the man's concern over his wife's condition with the birth of the first child and his initial assumption of the duties of parenthood himself.

[844] There is a connection between the concern over a first child and a belief that a new mother requires expert attention at delivery so that the fetus will be able to emerge with its eyes closed. For this reason, the services of a midwife are often obtained. Nowadays, a
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[178] *machi* (shaman) might be called in to tend the mother, and there seem to be no misgivings about the *machi*'s connections with sorcery as is implied for the past. In the Roble Huacho region, one of the few *machis* I was able to meet had a reputation as an excellent midwife and general practitioner, and was frequently away from her home overnight practicing her specialty. She was a benign woman, which probably accounts for much of the confidence people had in her. In any case, much of the preparation and activity surrounding the birth of a woman's first child is taken out of her hands and her husband's, and specialized knowledge is generally utilized.

844 Birth takes place at home. The expectant mother is secluded in a section of the house, usually behind some temporary shield such as a straw mat or a suspended blanket. She may be active until heavy labor begins, however. When birth pains start she is usually attended by one or more women, one of whom may be a professional.

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768 riage, this assertion being a sensitive one in the face of inquiry by non-Mapuche, but that after the polygynist's death one of the older sons would assume responsibility for the support of the widows and their children. Some of the secondary wives said they would return to their natal reservations after their husband's death, provided there would be more land for them there than they were entitled to under the present polygynous arrangement or through their sons' inheritance.

595 Curiously, in almost all instances the polygynists had a smaller acreage than other families on the same reservation with only half the number of members. By and large, they were relatively poor men.
[554] They apparently gained no prestige by having multiple wives and were economically pressed to support their many dependents. I do not attempt to explain their adherence to polygyny in terms of lust, as the Mapuche are inclined to do, since there are many opportunities for sexual gratification outside of marriage. Nor do I think that to say they are culturally conservative adds to our knowledge, although these polygynists seem to fit into this category.

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[594] Compound families without polygynous attributes are much more simply structured than those in which there are multiple wives. In terms of interpersonal relationships among family members there is little to distinguish these households from elementary families. It is, however, in the matter of inheritance among the half-siblings that complications arise from which tensions might result as the children become older.

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[613] When the children are related through the father and therefore are all members of the same lineage, matters of inheritance proceed along expected lines. Sharing of farmland is roughly equal among brothers who are able to engage in adult labors. There is always some arrangement whereby land is held in trust for the younger sons. Often the second wife has jurisdiction over the management of land after her husband's death. If the older sons of the first wife (deceased) feel that it will be a long time before they can inherit parcels of land which will enable them to marry and establish their own households, they tend to leave the reservation altogether and enter Ladino society. This kind of situation sometimes results in the youngest son of the secondary wife inheriting all or most of the father's land.

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[587] When a widower with children marries a woman with children of her own, the situation is more complicated both as regards inheritance and with respect to interpersonal relations within the household

during the father's lifetime and after. If the woman is already a mem- 595
ber of the residential kingroup through a previous marriage to a 428
lineage brother, that is, if this is a case of widow inheritance, her 613
children will be lineage brothers and sisters to their half-siblings. 618
There will ordinarily be a claim on their actual father's holdings 587
which they may exercise — a condition which considerably eases the
tensions which tend to result in matters of inheritance of land. If
the woman's children are the offspring of her marriage to a man un
related to her second husband, their claims are greatly inferior to
those of their half-siblings. They are not of the same lineage as their
sociological father, but only have residential kingroup status owing
to their relationship to him through their mother. Consequently,
their claim to reservation land is weak and, if land is very scarce,
they will usually be discouraged by their stepfather and his lineage
brothers from marrying and settling on the reservation. These chil-
dren are what might be called sociological orphans, since they are
also likely to be cheated of their claims to land on the reservation of
their biological father, to whose lineage they belong but in whose
residential kingroup they have no status. It is children of this dubious 554
status[†] who tend to become career soldiers or policemen or, if they 548
are women, enter domestic service or, frequently after having borne 848
an out-of-wedlock child, houses of prostitution in the towns.

[†] [i.e. — Children living on the reservation
of their mother's second husband, who
are not of the same lineage as
their stepfather — Analyst]

ductivity. Sororal marriage seems not to be characteristic of polygynous unions, although occurring in secondary unions which take place after the death of the first spouse. The moral obligations once surrounding widow inheritance are no longer compelling. A man needs only to assist his brother's widow with the preparation of her fields and the harvest of her crops. He does not have to take her into his own house and support her as in preservation times, when social and economic conditions were different. Then, too, a widow is sometimes able to return to her natal reservation, where she has land of her own, further freeing her husband's brothers from responsibility for her welfare.

When a man contracts a sororal marriage he does so because of the ease in obtaining a second wife from the same group. It is also felt that co-wives who are sisters (real or classificatory) will live in greater harmony in a polygynous household. In most cases where co-wives are not sisters, each has a separate house in which she rears her children. In rare instances these households might even be established on different reservations, although this is not in the pattern of patrilocal or virilocal residence.

In a polygynous household the primary wife is referred to as "older wife" (*unan homo* or *unan kure*). The bride-price for the second or third wife is customarily smaller than for the first, especially if the women are of the same lineage. Secondary wives in polygynous households have an inferior social status in relation to the primary wife, but secondary wives taken after the death of the first wife have most if not all the rights and privileges of their predecessor. The children of a second wife, however, may not share equally with those of the first in their father's wealth, especially if the father's first set of children is much older than the second. This is essentially a status difference based on age, although there is something of the notion of special rights of the first son involved.

In cases of widow inheritance, the offspring of the union are considered children of their biological father and those of the primary union considered their half-siblings. All of the children, of course, are members of the same patrilineage. It is difficult to say more about such arrangements, except in particular terms. The Mapuche maintain that there are no general rules governing these situations, claiming that inheritance, status in the lineage and the community, and so forth, are *ad hoc* matters which are variable and are determined situationally.

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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Mapuche

Outline of Mapuche Social Structure

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constitute incest. Marriage negotiations simply could not occur under such circumstances. Marriage, therefore, is not only regulated by linal considerations of propriety but by lateral restrictions and preferences, the traditional expression of which (*admapu*) is matrilinearity.

The Mapuche rationale for the perpetuation of the matrilineal system is phrased partly in terms of sorcery. A man does not fear that his mother's closest kinsmen will practice witchcraft against him, at least not homicidal sorcery. All Mapuche distrust outsiders—nonrelatives who are not of the locality—as potential sorcerers. To break the matrilineal pattern, as is sometimes done, and marry into an unrelated and unknown group is to court danger. There is resistance on both sides, as well, since neither the kinsmen of the young man nor those of his intended bride approve of this kind of departure from the norm. A man, consequently, finds that the surest and easiest road to marriage lies over the bridge established by his mother or other in-married kinswomen to a traditionally-linked wife-giving lineage.

A man is in a number of ways beholden to the group which regularly supplies his lineage with wives. He must, for example, pay brideprice (*mafun*: to pay for a woman) in order to obtain his wife and to establish linal rights over her and the children she produces. In this he complies with the demands of the wife-giving (wife-providing⁹) group, and is willing to do so because of the ease of obtaining a wife from them and the security involved in marrying a woman from a known group of cognatic kinsmen. The relative superiority of the wife-giving group is made clear in several ways, involving payments, during the period of marriage negotiations and nuptials, as well as on other occasions before and after marriage.

There is lifelong recognition of the relative social superiority and inferiority, respectively, of the group which provides wives

⁹ When talking to the groom's agnates the term *mafun* is used; when discussing brideprice with the bride's agnates, the term *walakun* is generally used. This usage reflects the relative position of the two categories, *walakun* signifying "the provision or sale of a young woman." The customary designations wife "giver" and "receiver" do not fully express this relationship.

554 and the one which must pay for them.³ This is expressed in
602 kinship terminology. Men of the wife-giving group refer to
613 wife-receivers as "the one who has purchased" (*ñillan*: to
583 purchase; also, used as a kinship term which may be roughly
571 translated as brother-in-law). Those of the receiving group call
[60] those whom they pay for wives *weku* (roughly, maternal uncle).
These terms are used in a general classificatory manner which
serves to identify wife-receivers as *ñillan* and wife-givers as *weku*,
regardless of terminological modifications which occur for any
individual after marriage.

It is during the period when marriage is being negotiated and ritually solemnized that the relative inferiority of the wife-receiving lineage is most emphatically symbolized. On balance, and with respect both to items of material and symbolic value, the wife-receiving group pays considerably more than the bride brings in dowry.⁴ The brideprice payments and ceremonial acts of subservience indicate the traditional superiority of the wife-giving group.

684 A young man who has come to an understanding with a girl,
and possibly with her parents, goes to seek out her father in the
company of one or more of his elder kinsmen or sends them in
584 his stead to initiate the suit of marriage. Their proposal comes
613 under the scrutiny of several elders of the girl's lineage, her
father's closest kinsmen-friends. The latter, strongly influenced
by the girl's father, pass judgment on the marriage proposal and

[578] ³ I am not considering personal feelings here. In general, though, it may be said that the wife-receiving group is felt to harbor resentment against the wife-giving group. The suspected ill will of the receiving group causes wife-givers to charge them, sometimes openly, of not caring for the women they receive in marriage, of saying that their door is always open (which, in fact, it is not) to their married sisters who wish to return, and causes them to associate *ñillan* with sorcery, under certain adverse circumstances. In this latter notion is something of the idea that socially inferior persons of little means practice sorcery against their social superiors, who are usually wealthy men (*ulmen*).

[754] ⁴ In speaking of brideprice and dowry the Mapuche refer most often to land and cattle. The word for dowry, however, is properly *ñil*, and really signifies household goods, clothing, jewelry, weaving loom, etc., which, to my mind, indicates 1) that an equal exchange of animals is a post-reservation phenomenon which took rise after farm land acquired its present importance in Mapuche life, and 2) that some ostentatious exchange is necessary for cementing the marriage contract (see Faron 1961c:207).

Death and Fertility Rites

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linked elders and the chiefs among the honored guests. These choice servings are reciprocated at some future date by the recipients, provided the structure of any future ceremony warrants it. As an example, should the wife-receiving relatives of a dead person attend a funeral of a member of their wife-giving group at some future date, they would be properly received and fed well. But they would not be given better treatment than the wife-givers of the host group. This relativity of status is a constant theme among the Mapuche which largely defines their system of etiquette. A man in a relatively inferior social category, even though he were an especially close personal friend, would not feel slighted if his host were to accord greater privilege to someone who was the host's social superior. Such behavior is expected and is understood as such.

The *weupin* orations are the keynote of the burial ceremony. They are highly laudatory and recount in synopsis the exploits and good qualities of the deceased. *Weupin* signifies any discourse on a serious note. Therefore, all mourners who speak a few words over the corpse are delivering *weupin* and themselves are *weupin* or *weupufe*. However, certain male relatives are chosen as official *weupin*, and these speak rather lengthy encomiums over the deceased in formalized and somewhat archaic speech. Each delivers an account of the noble qualities of the dead person, speaks of the loss to his family and friends, to the community, and of the responsibility of the survivors, especially the obligations of his children. The *weupin* trace the genealogy of the deceased to the last remembered ancestor of his patrilineage and extol the virtues of the principal male members on each generation back to the founder. Indeed, so important is this genealogical aspect that it limits the choice of *weupin* to those relatives who are most closely related to the deceased, regardless of personal friendship. These are the elders of the lineage, who would most likely know the genealogical connections, or of a responsible enough nature to determine them before called upon to discuss genealogy.

This kind of genealogical reconstruction may take place at any point in the *weupin*, although it tends to come either at the end, as a summation of the person's good qualities and connections, or in the beginning, as an introduction to them. Through

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Death and Fertility Rites The 101
second in-place dance is performed to the commands of the sergeants, after which the *nillatufe* begins the third stanza of prayer. This time he may cast kernels of maize only, or barley or oats, depending on which crop has been sowed in greatest abundance, throwing some on the sacrificial fire as before. The third in-place dance begins and ends. The *nillatufe* again prays, either scattering grain or aspersing with *mudai* or *chicha*, also taken from special bowls near the main altar. After the fourth stanza of prayer, the *purun* takes place again and many of the spectators participate. They dance for ten or twenty minutes, many of the older people tiring and dropping out to return to their *ramadas*, where the mid-morning snack is prepared.

When the sergeants signal that the *purun* is over, the dancers leave the *rewu*, replacing sprigs of sacred branches with which they danced. They return to their respective *ramadas*, where libations of *chicha* are already being poured by the older people, and everyone partakes of a light meal. There is a good deal of visiting from one *ramada* to the next, with visitors being presented with food. The amount they receive indicates their importance and is often calculated to reciprocate equally a gift of food made during a previous ceremony. Gifts of food are exchanged in this way among most families in attendance. Special *konchotun* (a loose-binding blood pact) ceremonies may also take place at this time.

Subsequent parts of the ceremony duplicate the early morning rites part for part. Ideally, the prayers and other activities have to be repeated perfectly, but there seems to be only an approximation to ritual perfection, or a broad interpretation of the ideal. A second sheep or other animal may not be sacrificed until the close of the ceremony, but if animals are abundant (i.e. if the donors are wealthy), a sheep might be killed at each part of the ritual. It is said that there should be four sessions of sacrifice-dance-prayer and one special *lonkopurun* on each day of *nillatun*, and that the ceremony should last at least two days. Again, this ideal is only approximated. There may be only two main sessions on the first day, perhaps three on the second, and an ordinary *purun* may be called a *lonkopurun*. There are always at least two main prayer sessions each day, however, and one repeats the other.

I have stressed the priestly function of *nillatufe*, the sacrificial

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The Ritual Congregation

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chiefs of other reservations within the responsible core, and this is expected of him by the members of his community. If a chief shirks this obligation, as occasionally happens when he is quite poor or does not care to make contributions, it is an affront to the ancestors and the gods. His constituents complain. If there seems some danger of breaking the ritual cycle, members of the linked reservations begin to grumble. Pressure is brought to bear on a recalcitrant chief by heads of subordinate lineages on his own reservation (his informal council) and by the chiefs of the linked reservations.

Elder of the dominant lineage, repository of ritual knowledge, responsible both to authentic and to mythical ancestors, spokesman for his entire community, the chief is the only person who is able to integrate the members of his reservation in concerted action and to represent them in the traditional manner in the ritual congregation. It is characteristic of being chief that ritual responsibility rests heavily with the position. The obverse side of this is that ordinary members of the community, who are not themselves elders, generally follow the chief's leadership in ritual matters without question, and often without full understanding or, at least, with apparently greater interest in the more festive as distinguished from the religious details of *ñillatun*.

The chief's ritual leadership among the contemporary Mapuche, more than any other single factor, bolsters his political leadership. It is doubtful that this state of affairs is a carry-over from prereservation times. Rather, only since the localization of the Mapuche in small agricultural communities has *ñillatun* involved such a large and heterogeneous congregationalism, and only since congregational development of this sort has taken place has the chief's political authority rested to such an extent on his role in public ritual. Formerly, it rested largely on his military ability, which enabled him to command allegiance in time of hostilities from a greater-than-kinship group.

The close and dependent relationship of the chief's political and ritual leadership to the integration of the reservation community is especially striking in contrast to its absence on reservations not having strong chiefs. These are the kinds studied by Titiev, which might partly account for the great

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[114] difference between his interpretation of Mapuche society and mine. Where strong chiefs are lacking, there is generally weak or marginal participation of the community in *ñillatun*, and the chief's role as ritual leader falls to the shaman. While I hesitate to conjecture about the priority of ritual or political weakness, they are without doubt mutually debilitating. The weak chief is ritually inept and had lost the confidence of his people as a ritual leader. Often he is uninterested in ritual and makes no claim to ritual leadership. The members of his reservation must look elsewhere, to the chief of other reservations, for leadership—to them a distasteful alternative because it means that their own authentic ancestors are only imperfectly propitiated during the *ñillatun*. Since the chief is the elder of the dominant lineage on the reservation, it loses its control in ritual as well as in political affairs. Consequently, the reservation segments into its constituent households or, at least, into the several sublineages of the formerly dominant one and into subordinate lineages. Subordinate lineages then achieve an equal footing with the segments of the formerly dominant one. In the absence of political and ritual integration (the one implying the other), the reservation no longer forms a truly corporate community, and division of land into severalties often ensues. In this kind of situation, witchcraft plays an eminently dysfunctional role.

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794 The chief is not only a personage of great importance at the *ñillatun* ceremony, therefore, but he must continue to be of great ritual importance and pass his status more or less intact to his heir, if his reservation is to survive as a corporate community. This of course has great implications for the survival of the entire ritual congregation, and for Mapuche society as a whole. If the chief does not assume the role of *ñillatufe* (or if the ritual leadership is not entrusted to another elder of the dominant lineage), the *ñillatun* gradually becomes something else, and there are both political and ritual repercussions. The chief as priest has a powerful influence, therefore, in maintaining communal integrity, in the continuing integration of the ritual congregation, and in the overall structure of Mapuche morality.

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181 The totality of relationship-acts forged in the *ñillatun* ceremony, is, perhaps more than any other single structure in Mapuche society, the configuration which distinguishes the Mapuche as a

[56] [593] nated the domestic scene. Their husbands showed them greater than ordinary consideration, listened to their opinions in a somewhat subservient manner, and remained largely in the background except when spoken to and called upon to assist their wives.

Shamanistic lore is sometimes learned from one's mother or a woman on the mother's side of the family, but a *machi* does not, according to the few genealogies I was able to obtain, inherit power from one's mother or from a close kinswoman. I will consider this obviously significant concept later in the chapter. Whatever the nature of inheritance, whether or not a woman trains to become a *machi* depends on her personal capabilities and special qualities, as well as on the availability of a teacher who appreciates them, and the willingness or ability of her parents to pay the cost of instruction. All *machi*, and therefore, all neophytes, must demonstrate exceptional sensitivity to dream experiences, perspicacity in interpersonal relationships, good memories, and adeptness in making herbal remedies for most common illnesses. Much of their reputation in curing the more common fever and malaise depends on their store of remedies; only *machi* with extraordinary ability to enter trance are sought out for the curing of illnesses which appear to forebode death.

[189] [296] Training includes the mastery of lengthy and intricate orations and songs (partly in a special language) and the concoction of appropriate remedial potions. As neophytes, young women perform a series of menial chores, such as heating the *machi's* drum to tighten the skin, gathering herbs, and preparing medicines under their teacher's supervision. They spend long hours committing to memory the various incantations. The most difficult and crucial part of their training is developing an ability to induce trance, for which there is no use made of narcotics. Finally, a *machi* must perform before her teacher and other *machi*, proving her ability, in a ceremony variously called *machitan*, *machipurun* (most common), *pillantun*, or *ñekarewen*, during which she becomes symbolically united with the sacred branches of the cinnamon (*canelo*) tree.

Shamans sometimes train their own daughters, provided they have suitable qualities of alertness and a proclivity for handling

756 machi. The latter is often called upon to assist at difficult births,
 845 if she is known to be especially skilled at delivery. In this role,
 the performance is not essentially magical, although an initial
 incantation is made to insure success. The machi is called in on
 [844] these occasions to provide practical knowledge in delivery—
 [554] infusion of herbs, massage, and so forth. As her reputation grows
 so does her clientele.

75 Illness is attributed to the persistence of evil forces, since the
 wekufe are always with one in any case; thus when recovery is
 delayed and death seems to threaten, a machi is called in. The
 young man who had the operation on his head had gone to see
 a Chilean doctor in town, but when his headaches and nausea
 did not ease he consulted the blind machi, whom he was certain
 would at least deal with the wekufe even though success was not
 [648] assured. Their indifference to Mapuche notions of illness and
 [797] their obvious inability to deal with the forces of evil have
 worked against Chilean doctors' influence in Mapucheland.

753 Supernaturally induced, illness may come from intrusion into
 787 the person of some malignant quality or object. These intrusions
 are associated with certain signs or symptoms, which, if not
 already apparent to the patient, are revealed to him by the
 machi. Dreams, omens, contacts with witrufwe, and so forth,
 all may give rise to illness. Examples of bad omens are the
 following: the death of a tree in an orchard, a tree flowering
 after bearing fruit, one's falling down and sitting on the ground,
 evidence of dampness under the bed, a hen crowing like a cock,
 and all the evidence for the presence of forces of evil mentioned
 already. In dreams, having one's hair cut is a sign of poverty and
 hardship. Being shaven, walking barefoot, falling from a tree,
 having teeth pulled, being arrested by the police—all these
 dreams presage sickness of one kind or another. These dreams
 755 are discussed by the people, and the discussion either serves to
 756 dispel fear or reinforce it to such an extent that the person
 becomes worried enough to consult a machi. Since shamanistic
 curing is always costly, it is not a thing which is undertaken
 lightly. Then, too, machi are not visited professionally without
 good reason, for they are somewhat feared. The machi will
 clarify dreams or omens and recommend herbal remedies. This
 is about the simplest curing technique and involves no magical

3 [i.e. the machi -- Analyst]

Shamanism and Sorcery

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some Mapuche have taken to nailing small crosses over their doors to this end. A traditional means of warding off danger is the wearing of amulets, a practice which nowadays is mostly confined to women who have small silver figurines appended to their trapelabucha or other silver ornaments worn on their bosom.

Machi are regarded as powerful, awesome persons in any community or region. Where they are lacking, people complain that their plight in the face of illness is very grave and they frequently manifest a good deal of insecurity during hard times—when food is in short supply or when there have been several unexplained deaths on the reservation. They complain that they have no one to turn to; that there are obviously many *wekufe* lurking about and no machi to deal with them. Under these circumstances, it is not unusual for an ailing person, in the company of a relative or two, to travel a considerable distance to have a machitun performed, or to send someone to bring back a machi to the reservation, if one is willing to make the journey. This feeling of insecurity was particularly impressed upon me in a snow-bound reservation in the Andes, during a period of near famine and general anxiety. Roads were in deep snow and almost impossible. No machi would make the trip from the nearest reservation which, in this remote area, was two or three days' journey by foot, and which was in dire straits itself. The people did not have the wherewithal to hold a *killatun* and, at any rate, some felt that a *killatun* held out of season would not be effective.

By Mapuche standards, machi are often well-to-do. Their wealth is measured in moveable goods for the most part, goods received in payment for services rendered. This usually means that they live in well-constructed houses and that they have many animals in their corrals. There seems to be no correlation between a machi's wealth, however, and the land she or her husband owns (or has use-rights in), as is expectable, given the Mapuche reservation system and patrilineal inheritance pattern, and the fact that machi seem to marry outside the matrilineal pattern. But shamans usually have a well-stocked larder, which is common knowledge. Partly in jest, an ample matronly woman might be pointed out as a machi, because of the image of

Shamanism and Sorcery

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or, phrased differently, because certain females have special qualities which are interpreted to demonstrate their potential power, they acquire the assistance of and control over familiar spirits. This constitutes an female line, although in nearly all cases they are kinwomen (and truly familiar) collaterally related to the shaman. Regardless of how direct the spiritual succession between a machi and her familiar, however, these spirits are not ancestral to the machi's lineage. Even if power were transmitted from, say, grandmother to mother to daughter, these women would not be of the same lineage. Machi simply do not manipulate the spirits ancestral to their own lineage or, given the marriage system, to that of their husband. This is of considerable importance from the standpoint of Mapuche morality.

Furthermore, all machi, male and female, seem to marry outside the context of the matrilateral system. This serves to remove them from any possible contact with spirits ancestral to the groups with whom they reside. Male machi tend to live uxoriously if they marry at all, and if not married seem to stay from their natal reservation. Females tend to marry late in life and to reside under atypical conditions. There are, for example, no stories about a young man courting a machi and bringing her to live patrilocally, although there are some truly weird stories about men who have inadvertently married machi. Rather, it seems that machi take the initiative in arranging marriage for themselves, marrying their choice of subservient males, selecting one who is not a member of a traditional wife-exchanging group (although there is no indication that this is purposeful on the machi's part), in a ceremony which does not involve the custom of brideprice and the sets of rights and obligations surrounding the traditional linkage of two patrilateral descent groups.

With regard to patterns of inheritance, marriage, and residence, then, machi seem to operate outside the traditional structure of Mapuche social relationships. Being women, machi are never part of the core group of any reservation on which they reside. And since all married women are outsiders in this sense, it is interesting that there are so many female-associated traits adhering to male shamans. There is clearly an association between femininity and occult power, a connection between

domination and the dorsal side of the universe. Thus if not homosexual, even if engaging in transvestites only during performances, the male machi is "ugly" and "uncommercial" in Mapuche eyes. He is blind, crippled, or distinguished by his wild and monstrous dress from the Mapuche male. I suggest that this symbolic association has characterized Mapuche thinking since time immemorial and that, in this important respect, there has been no shift from male to female dominance.

The manipulation of ancestral spirits of the localized lineage is unthinkable among the Mapuche. Entering the body of a machi, a spirit is placed in danger of capture by hells and, therefore, almost contraindicated at the outset. Even the machi's familiars are not accepted to the group, but supernatural machinations do not pose a threat to the person among whom she practices. As outsiders without linkage to ancestral spirits, female shamans are precisely those persons in whose hands supernatural power is safest.

There is, I feel, a significant negative correlation between shamans on the one hand and the system of patrilineage and that of matrilineal marriage on the other. The shaman stands out from the spiritual crucible of lineage creation. She stands outside the structure of kinship and marriage, in any concrete set of relationships, and she is unimportant with respect to the governing principles of patrilineal descent and patrilateral residence in both the worldly and otherworldly spheres of Mapuche life.

Keller: Marshalling the Forces of Evil

Published information about sorcery among the Mapuche is rich, in the sense of abundance, and poor in terms of systematic quality, consistency, and verifiability. Some of the recorded myths have disappeared too soon to be of the twentieth-century vintage they are labeled. The imperfections and incompleteness is partly attributable to a reluctance on the part of the Mapuche to be specific, a reluctance to point an accusing finger at a witch at close range. There is also some confusion, of considerable significance, in distinguishing a hells from a machi. Speaking in terms of contemporary Mapuche notions, this confusion sometimes results when feelings about the forces

Shamanism and Sorcery

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tion, the ritual congregation, or total Mapuche society. But this feeling is associated mainly with murder-by-witchcraft. Mischievous death of murder is the thing which continually engages the attention of any person or group. The practice of sorcery or the fear of it tends to coincide with interpersonal or intergroup tensions, which means that relatives, neighbors, and local Chileans are suspected of witchcraft. The more intimate the bond of kinship or friendship, the more unlikely that fear of homicidal sorcery will exist. Thus, the most devastating supernatural influences emanate from within the group, however the group be defined. With regard to the merely malicious as distinguished from the lethal aspects of sorcery, and even though the professional sorcerer be an outsider, the ill-wisher is usually a member of the community. The community may be the maternal lineage, the reservation, or the ritual congregation.

Wealthy men and poor, old, widowed women tend to shoulder the brunt of suspicion and accusation of being witches. However, a wealthy man (chono) is seldom openly charged. His wife might be accused of practicing sorcery for her husband's benefit, or the man might be said to have witchcraft in his service, not to do harm but to guard his possessions against his neighbors—an affront to the community. Poor, aged widows are favorite targets for charges of sorcery and are felt to be witches themselves, whereas it is believed that most other criminals merely hire the services of a *hulla*, having little or no power themselves. Unless such a woman is felt to be especially dangerous and troublesome, she will not be evicted. It is usually hoped that she will soon die and that her spirit will go elsewhere, a matter on which I have already touched.

The wealthy and the extremely poor, especially widows who have married their children and who, of course, are only distantly related to most members of the lineage, are the ones who are prejudiced to the community. Wealthy men tend to have more land and animals; widows, perhaps more land than they are felt to need. They multiply evil, but rather than being evicted or harmed, they are maligned, shunned, ridiculed. Fear of Chilean police power is partly responsible for this, I feel, but it is not the only reason why suspected members of the community are not dealt with more harshly.

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The Structure of Symbolic Values

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gods. East is the orientation for all ritual action and, ideally, the entrances to Mapuche houses should face east. West is associated with death, as is the ocean which ancestral spirits must cross before arriving safely in the afterworld. The ocean is the spirit's final barrier in its journey to *nomelasken* (*lafken*: 'ocean; nome: other side) or as it is sometimes rendered *wenumapu* (*wenu*: above; *mapu*: land). The north is the origin of cold, harsh winter rains, starvation, and general hardship. It is also the place of origin of the Inca and the Spaniards, the collective *winka*. Moon is placed in opposition to sun and in the left-hand column because of its logical connection with female menses.

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Below and above are literally inferior and superior categories which serve to qualify the characteristics of many phenomena, and they are analogically compatible with evil and good, left and right. *Minche* (below) *mapu* refers to the grave, similar to the way in which *reñu* (underworld) refers to the subterranean region inhabited by witches and all forces of evil. *Minche* connotes as well defeat in either physical or supernatural combat. *Wenu* (above) is clearly associated with sun, the haven of ancestral spirits, the domain of the gods, and so forth, and is placed on the right by analogy to good connotations. Black and blue (not always differentiated) are associated with rain and/or death. Black and dark blue banners symbolize rain in the *ñillatun* rites; white banners and sky-blue banners with yellow figures symbolize sun and good weather. The funeral wake (*kurikawin*: black assemblage) and mourning in general are symbolized by black. The cold, rainy, death-bringing month of August may be called *kurikuyen* (black month or black moon). Certain relatives of the wife-giving group may be called *kuripapai* (black women).

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The following sets of complementary opposites involve for the most part categories of inferior (left) and superior (right) statuses, although with respect to *winka* and incest we are again confronted with notions of evil. I have grouped the following categorical sets separately into Table III in order to present them as the final step in demonstrating that the same dualistic principle inheres in the ordering of social phenomena that has been shown to characterize the complementary opposition of

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12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

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HAWKS OF THE SUN

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554 symbolic values. Many "problems" of interpretation are cleared up or at least placed in new perspective by applying this conceptual scheme to Mapuche values and their social correlates. The left-hand column contains inferior categories relative to the right-hand column.

TABLE III

LEFT	RIGHT
woman/child	man
kona	lonko
junior	senior
subordinate lineage	dominant lineage
gift-receiver	gift-giver
wife-receiver	wife-giver
incest	marriage
winka	Mapuche
reservation	ritual congregation

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769 There is a differential evaluation of the sexes in Mapuche society which is consistent with a left-right (woman-man) dualistic set of symbols. There are many indications of male superiority and association with the right, as well as with good and the sacred. Ancestral spirits, for example, are dealt with as though all were males (elders and chiefs: *lonko*), and these have an effective relationship with the sons of the gods. Female ancestors are soon dropped from the roster of propitiated ancestral spirits and are eventually subsumed into the general ancestral group, *kuisfiche*. It is the male of the god-set who is propitiated and supplicated first; then prayers are directed to his wife, who is propitiated only once or at least much less often than her divine husband. None of this seems incongruent with a patrilineal, patrilocal, and patripotestal society.

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[623] There are other indications of male dominance and a clear association between females and inferiority, if not evil. But there is a relativity of symbolism involved here which should not be overlooked. Women, for example, are barred from participation in the council of elders (males) which discusses procedural plans for *ñillatun* and which offers private (i.e. among themselves as representatives of their respective lineages) prayers to ancestral spirits during the preparatory phase of fertility ceremonies.

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ancestral spirits during the preparatory phase of fertility ceremonies. Women are clearly associated with sorcery, and are considered the most able sorcerers by virtue of being female, and, therefore, by analogy, may be placed on the black, cold, death-ridden side of the conceptual universe.

An interesting matter of the relativity of these sets of values centers at this point. It will be remembered that "male" shamans are not considered fully masculine by the Mapuche. Some are suspected of being homosexual, all or most dress in women's clothing during their performances, others are blind, crippled, or mentally unstable. All of these characteristics are nonmasculine and, furthermore, associated with the occult part of the universe of which sorcery is a part. (But this is not to say that shamans are viewed as aligned with the forces of evil. For the Mapuche, shaman-sorcerer comprises a logical set of complementary forces symbolizing, respectively, good and evil, with right and left associations.) It is inconsistent with Mapuche thought to include males in shamanistic roles, including the *thungulmachin* whose occult powers are not wholly masculine. Therefore, male practitioners are attributed female characteristics. The shaman is not the logical opposite of the ritual priest (*ñillatufe*) in Mapuche thinking, even though shamans sometimes complement the activities of *ñillatufe* in *ñillatun*. The *ñillatufe* has a quite different relationship to the supernatural than the shaman; he does not enter the spirit world but is tied to it formally, by virtue of birth in a particular patrilineal descent group and in the line of succession of chiefs. He is, therefore, at the same time political, lineal, and spiritual leader of the dominant lineage of his natal reservation, the group which is most clearly responsible for the staging of *ñillatun*, caring for invited participants and honored guests, and bearing heaviest moral responsibility for the successful enactment of the ceremony. The shaman has a quite different role.

The *kona-lonko* dichotomy also points up the relativity of these sets of complementary categories. *Lonko* (chiefs and other elders) are clearly in a socially superior position with respect to their male kinsmen. Formerly they exacted limited tribute and, even today, receive obligatory presents on certain ritual occasions. They are also accorded the privilege of attending work

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12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
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772 parties in which they appear as titular heads, doing little or no
622 work themselves. The *lonko* who is also *nillatufe* receives
554 abundant quantities of food, not as payment for his services to
the congregation (as is the case with the *machi*) nor as a gift,
but, rather, as his due levy—with the understanding that this
food will be distributed for ritual purposes.

772 *Kona* and *lonko* are related as junior and senior, but the
601 junior-senior dichotomy is expressed in a number of other ways
554 as well. The use of kinship terms expresses the superiority of the
senior members of society (uncles, fathers, grandfathers) to
whom respect is accorded by all others. The same kinship idiom
is extended to groups of relatives in the marriage alliance system.
Males of the wife-giving unit are called *weku* (maternal uncle),
which is a respectful designation, whereas males of the wife-
receiving group are called *nillan* ("the one who has purchased"),
at best a designation of inferior social status.

772 'Titiev mentioned that there was a feeling of "latent hostility"
554 with respect to *nillan*, and that this person (emphasizing the
602 individual) is considered as a "potential traitor" (1951:48).
613 These facts might be interpreted to greater advantage as
578 indicating that certain wife-receiving groups or segments of any
large wife-receiving group are placed in a relatively suspect social
position in which more than social inferiority is implied. These
are the wife-receiving groups which have not maintained sus-
tained marriage ties in the matrilineal system, or those just
initiating such alliance, and which, because of that, might be
suspected of actually practicing homicidal sorcery. It is members
of such receiving groups who must put in an appearance at
funeral ceremonies of the lineage who formerly provided them
with wives, or else they bear the brunt of general suspicion and
possible retaliation. It is their failure to meet former obligations
of ritual participation which lays suspicion upon them, just as
the fulfilment of such obligation has the opposite effect with
respect to units which have maintained sustained and multiple
intermarriages over several generations. In their obligation to
bury in-married women in the same ground as lineal ancestors is
symbolized a dualistic separation of the two descent groups and
the commitment of the socially inferior group to sustain the
responsibility and cost which burial entails.

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With regard to the subordinate lineage-dominant lineage set, little more need be said. The subordinate lineages are localized on the reservation by sufferance of the dominant one. Members of subordinate lineages look to the dominant one for political and ritual leadership (on well-functioning reservations) and, in any case, are forced to trace descent back to the time of the original chief in order to validate certain rights. The greater rights of the dominant lineage have worked their effect on both the size and composition of dominant and subordinate lineages throughout Mapucheland, and it will be remembered that it is from the subordinate lineages that most young people emigrate to the cities and farms of Chile and Argentina, being accorded fewer real opportunities than members of dominant lineages to gain a living on their natal reservation. In some cases, when feelings run high, members of these subordinate lineages are called by the opprobrious name *winka*, usually reserved for whites.

The superiority of gift-givers to gift-receivers is not absolute, although in any particular situation gift-receivers are at least momentarily in an inferior position. With respect to ceremonies such as *trafkin* and *konehotun*, in which gift-giving is important, the persons involved alternate periodically (yearly) as giver and receiver. But the recipient at any phase of the cycle is under moral obligation to return the gift at the next juncture, placing himself in an inferior position until the completion of the next phase of the cycle, symbolizing a mutual and cyclically asymmetrical obligation. Since a gift must be reciprocated, the receiver is in a position of formal obligation to the giver. When the return is made the other party becomes recipient in turn—and so on. In the *awn* ceremony an example of the obligation associated in gift-giving and receiving is placing gifts in the coffin (*rokin*), an act which expresses the obligations of the living to the dead; in return the proper bestowal of *rokin* binds the departed spirit to watch over the living. And in the network of marriage alliances, an integral part is the relative, shifting inferiority-superiority of gift-receivers and gift-givers.

As I discussed earlier, Titiev's assertion that there is equal exchange of marriage wealth (Titiev 1951:101) is wholly inconsistent with Mapuche values and their social correlates. The

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inferiority of the group who pays brideprice is symbolized in a number of ways (see Chapter One, pp. 41-45). Rather than being equal, there is a great, symbolically significant and obligatory imbalance in goods transferred at the occasion of marriage, consistent with the relative inferiority of the wife-receiving group.

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It will be remembered that there is no direct exchange of women among the Mapuche lineages, the system being one of generalized exchange, strong preference accounting for the vast majority of marriages being contracted with matrilocally linked groups. On the face of it, this is a triadic structure in which are involved one's own lineage, one's wife-giving lineage, and the wife-receiving group into which one's lineage sisters marry. This relationship is symbolized in the kinship terminology, in which wife-receivers are designated as "brother-in-law" (*ñillan*: the one who has purchased) and wife-givers as "maternal uncle" (*weku*), as I have already indicated. One's own lineage consists of brothers, fathers, etc. The terms used for one's own lineage members are potentially extensible to all Mapuche who do not fall into a marriage-linked category which, being more than a sentimental attachment to fellow Mapuche, expresses the structural boundaries of the marriage system. But the necessarily triadic structure involved in this kind of exchange system reduces to dyadic component relationships with respect to any marriage-linked units, affinals always standing in either the *ñillan* or the *weku* category, as wife-receiver and wife-giver, with respect to each other.

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Now for the problem of why the Mapuche insist that marriage with mother's brother's daughter is the ideal union, one which they say was law (*admapu*) a generation or so ago. As I have indicated elsewhere, genealogies do not show that marriage with real mother's brother's daughter takes place with significant frequency; that it is in fact a rare occurrence (Faron 1961a, c; 1962). Since all marriageable women are called by the same term, *ñuke*, men marry, in the absence of exact genealogical knowledge, classificatory mother's brother's daughters in a generalized system of exchange. Therefore, the anthropologist's acceptance of this statement as literal truth is wrong. But what does the Mapuche expression of this ideal marriage form mean?

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
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172 198 The elementary- HAWKS OF THE SUN
178 family household is emerging or has already
594 emerged as the basic unit of cooperative endeavor in the
613 cultivation of marketable crops. Localizing an expanding popula-
[433] tion on small multilanguage reservations, in an area considerably
[584] reduced from prereservation days, saw the rise of significant
corporate patrilineal descent groups and the development of a
matrilateral marriage system which depends on the stability of
relationships between wife-giving and wife-receiving units. But
to say simply that "the family" has become more important in
Mapuche society and then make a partial functional analysis to
the effect that this correlates with market orientation would be
to commit the gravest interpretative error, especially in the ab-
sence of an analysis of patrilineality as a basic integrative force
or principle in the society. Likewise, to say that chieftainship has
declined in importance, without amply qualifying this state-
ment, would be a disservice to the reader interested in cultural
change and breakdown. The chief's authority in certain eco-
nomic and political areas declined after the first generation or so
of reservation living and colonial rule. But his position as
kinship elder and ritual leader has become immeasurably en-
hanced, and after his death he is propitiated by a much larger
body of kinsmen and nonrelatives than during any time in the
past. His political and economic leadership, though changed,
has also become enhanced, insofar as it is now geared to a much
more complex situation.

177 Changes have taken place in the staging, organization, and
178 social function of *ñillatun* and *cawn* to the extent that these
796 assemblages are larger, more stable, and, with regard to the
769 lineage membership of the participants, more heterogeneous
[794] than anything described during the prereservation era. There is
today a geographical and social definition of the ritual congrega-
tion which correlates with the distribution of sets of wife-
givers and wife-receivers within it—a remarkable concordance of
elements of the structure of religious morality. The organization
of ritual activity has changed in relation to other social changes
which hinge on the establishment of the reservation system.
The starting mechanism for these changes was activated in the
last century. Since then there has been a major reintegration in
adjustment to this major impulse from colonial society, or as a
result of colonial restrictions on Mapuche institutions. These are
social changes resulting from external forces, and their
cultural content is belief.

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870) 1873

SH5 Tehuelche SH5
Araucanians SG4

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the settlers, most probably the latter, and the certain impoverishing of the country. 648

After the parlamento a grand banquet was given by Cheoche to all the assembled caciques and their sons. Over three huge fires in his spacious toldo, large iron pots were supported on tripods, containing beef, mutton, and horse-flesh. The guests sat down as they could, while Cheoche sat, as the Spaniards says, 'on horseback' on a chair in the middle of the toldo, dressed in a magnificent cat-skin mantle, and holding a 'revengue' or hide whip in his hand, with which he ever and anon chastised an intrusive dog, or even one of his numerous sons if they came too near, or made too much noise. 574 264 415 262 291 411 861

The small boys were evidently used to it, and showed great agility in avoiding a blow, and equal unconcern if they received it. The chief's three wives presided at the fires, and wooden platters loaded with large portions of meat and a due allowance of fat were handed round for the first course. Each guest was expected to consume all that was in the platter, and when cleared it was carried off, washed, and refilled for another. The second course consisted of apples and piñones, raw or cooked according to taste, and it was strict etiquette to eat or pocket all the fruit supplied. Water was handed round after the feed, no other drink being produced save a private bottle, from which the chief helped two or three of his most favoured guests. There must have been at least thirty present at once, and there were ample room and abundant supplies. And subsequently a succession of guests of less distinction were fed; all the Tehuelches as well as Araucanos and Picunches being maintained during their stay by the chief.

I was very much struck with the obedience and respect evinced by these people towards their cacique. His authority extends as far north as Mendoza, over hundreds of Indians, residing in fixed tolderias, some few in the valley near Manzanas, but the chief part more to the northward, 622 554

622 near the groves of araucarias. But the power of the chief
 ●554 is absolute, and his word is law to his most distant subjects.
 At an order from him they leave their toldos, wives, and
 children, and repair mounted, and ready for any service, to
 his head-quarters. His wealth is considerable: besides the
 [556] numerous flocks and herds, one of the toldos was used
 simply as a treasury, where his stores of silver ornaments,
 ponchos, mantles, &c., were safely stowed away.

202 I was present in his toldo at the arrival of a messenger.
 The Indian, who had evidently come from a long distance,
 did not venture to enter until commanded to do so, when,
 with the utmost respect, he took his seat at a distance from
 the chief, communicated his message, received his orders,
 and retired; when again ready for the road he appeared to
 receive final instructions, after which he mounted his horse
 and rode off without more ado.

622 The subordinate caciques, whose office and rank are
 554 hereditary, appeared to be finer and more intelligent men
 than the rank and file. Whether this was owing to a dif-
 ference of race, or merely to their aristocratic descent and
 hereditary refinement of features and bearing, I cannot say;
 but their superiority was very marked; whereas among the
 Tehuelches no such difference between the caciques and
 their clansmen is observable. The superiority of these semi-
 civilized Araucanos to their southern neighbours was
 evident in every way, save only bodily strength. Their
 [556] residence in a more fertile country, near the apple and
 araucaria groves, gives them great advantages over the
 244 nomad Patagonians. They cultivate wheat, small quantities
 221 of which were brought to us for sale; besides storing the
 273 natural harvest of piñones and apples, from which, as before
 stated, they brew cider of unusual strength, and also distil
 'puleo,' an intoxicating liquor, from the algarroba bean. My
 197 intercourse with both Foyel's people and those at Manzanas
 was not sufficiently long to enable me to become conversant
 with their language and customs, which have been described